

THOUGHTS

ON THE

A F F A I R S

OF

K
I R E L A N D:

WITH THE

S P E E C H E S

OF THE

*Lord Chancellor, Cardinal Wolsey, and Gerald
Earl of Kildare.*

THE SECOND EDITION.

To which is added

A P R E F A C E.

L O N D O N.

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P R E F A C E.

TH E Situation of Ireland gave rise to these Thoughts: It is now a Kind of Aristocracy; the House of Commons continue during a King's Reign; the Families generally take care to keep up their Interest, so that Sons succeed to be elected in their Father's Places, and on a Dissolution the new House of Commons consists mostly of the same Persons the old one did. The Aristocratical Spirit exerts itself, when Opposition is made to the Election of those who have any Connexions with it. There was a strong Instance of this in the Case of Doctor LUCAS, a plain honest Man, who had really the Welfare of the PEOPLE (by the Puppies called the Mob) at Heart, and as such was beloved by them. Grachus was not more violently pursued at Rome, and if not to Blood the Moderation was perhaps owing to the Dependency on England, and Apprehension of the awful and superior Judicature of a British Parliament.

It is for some Time that there hath been a growing Contest between the Rulers of the Aristocratical Party, and the Servants of the Crown; the Crown often, and for the most part, indulged the Speakers of the House of Commons in recommending Sheriffs; of late Objections having been made by the popular Party, that that Power tended towards perpetuating the Commons, impartial Persons have been named Sheriffs, and the same Regard

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hath not been bad to the Recommendations as formerly; Employments also have been given to Men of high Merit, tho' they had no Influence in the House of Commons. Calumny and Slander which Polibius calls the Thunder and Lightening of the Oligarchy, were darted at the sacred Heads of those who presumed to prevent their Partiality. Every body has heard of an Attack made upon an Officer of the Crown for Misdeameanor alledg'd in his Office; Time never cools the Heat of Oligarchy; The Thunder Storm comes on again, The Man is tryed and condemn'd without Judge or Jury; great Names are publickly abused, without an Opportunity of Defence, and Clamour supplies the Place of Evidence.

The Pursuit continues with all the Acrimony that Esop gives to the Ants, the Fable goes to this Purpose. A Pheasant disturb'd an Ant's Nest, the Eagle is the Bird of Jupiter who carries his Thunder, and in that his Vicegerent, and also sometimes plays the Part of a Hawk for him and provides his Table with Dainties; the Bird of Jove stoops and catches the Pheasant for his Master's Service, the Ants thinking this was protecting the Pheasant, and as they were both feather'd Fowl, concluded them of a Kind; therefore the inveterate Ants follow the Eagle, and getting some burning Twigs, fire the Eagle's Nest and destroy the Progeny of the Bird of Jove. The Eagle flies for Protection to Jupiter, who sitting on the Top of Olympus, permits the Eagle a faithful Favourite
of

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of a gracious Sovereign to lay it's Eggs in his Lap. Revenge and Envy know no Repose, the peevish Ants climb up the rocky Height of *Olympus*, and sting the Legs of *Jupiter*, he unaccustomed to such familiar Treatment, starts up in a Rage, crushes the Ants, down goes the Eggs with his sudden Rising, and are shiver'd to Pieces, so that pertinacious Envy was gratify'd, tho' the individual Ants themselves perish'd.

The House of Commons of Ireland in the Session before this, censured the Engineer and Surveyor-General, relating to the Building and Repairing the Barracks. When they met again they took their former Resolutions into Consideration, and expell'd the said Person, he being a Member of the House.

A Pamphlet, called a Memorial, publish'd in Dublin, and afterwards reprinted in London, complains, that a certain Person on Account of his Principles, his Family, and his Connexions, had the greatest Confidence placed in him, is now treated as no longer worthy that Honour, and that Endeavours are used to put it into another Channel. And in Page the fifth it farther complains, that two Members of P——t had the Payment of their Pensions stopt for some Time.

What a new Kind of Patriotism, to be discontented, and to own the Cause to be, that the Channel of Power is changed, and because Pensions are not paid? Patriots us'd to think that the giving of Pensions to Members of P——t was criminal, but the Irish Patriots declare the Contrary, and that the
Mem-

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Members of P——t ought to have Pensions and Places.

Since the Affair of the late Engineer and Surveyor, for he is no longer so, a new Matter hath been started upon a Money Bill, Ireland is a Country conquer'd by the Kings of, and dependent upon the Crown of England. It hath Usages in many Things different from the Parliament of Britain, which is the Legislature of THE WHOLE BRITISH EMPIRE amongst those, one is, that the Heads of Bills should be prepared by the Council, and afterwards when a Bill hath passed both their Houses, then it comes before his Majesty in Council, in England, and may be either, amended, ratify'd, or rejected, as his Majesty in his Wisdom shall think fit. But it is far different with Respect to the Parliament of Great Britain, for if a Bill is passed by the two Houses, his Majesty never amends the same, but declares that he will have it pass, or that the King will consider of it.

The Lords and Commons of Ireland have pass'd a Bill, intituled an Act for Payment of the Sum of Seventy seven Thousand five hundred Pounds, or so much thereof, as shall remain Due on the twenty fifth Day of December, one thousand seven hundred and fifty three, in Discharge of the National Debt, together with Interest for the same, at the Rate of four Pounds per Centum, from the said twenty fifth Day of December one Thousand seven hundred and fifty three, until the twenty fifth Day of March one thousand seven hundred and fifty four. His Majesty by the Advice of his Council

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Council upon every mature Consideration, and by the Opinion of the greatest Men of the Law thought fit to make the following Amendment in the Preamble of the said Bill, viz. "And
 " your Majesty ever attentive to the Ease
 " and Happiness of your faithful Subjects,
 " has been graciously pleased to signify, that
 " you would consent, and to recommend it to
 " us, that so much of the Money remaining in
 " your Majesty's Treasury as should be necessary
 " be apply'd to the Discharge of the national
 " Debt, or of such Part thereof, as should
 " be Expedient by Parliament."

Which the House of Commons in Ireland re-
 ferr'd to a Committee, and there being a Di-
 vision, whether the Committee would agree to
 the said Amendment, 122 were against the
 amended Preamble, and 117 were for the a-
 mended Preamble, so that the Bill is dropt.

The great Question in this Matter was not
 whether the King had a Right to amend an
 Irish Money Bill, for that seems to be by all
 allowed; but whether the Surplusses of Taxes
 and the Revenue of Ireland, appertaineth to
 the King of Great Britain, or whether it is
 in the Power of the Commons of Ireland, with-
 out his Majesty's previous Consent, to dispose
 of, or appropriate such Moneys.

As Ireland was conquer'd by the Arms of
 the Kings and Government of England,
 aided by Taxes granted by the People of Eng-
 land, the Revenue of Ireland was heretofore
 held to belong to the King of England, as
 any other other of his Dominions and Reve-
 nues did, and till the Time of Charles II.

the

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the Revenues were often unable to defray the Charges in Ireland, and the King paid the Remainder out of his other Revenues. The King's hereditary Revenue in Ireland, is really the Civil List, and as such is in Truth, Part of the Revenue of his Majesty, who is Sovereign of the whole British Empire. The Parliament of Great Britain, to every of whose Acts, the King is Principal and Party, have regulated and divided the Revenue of England into several Branches, one of which is called the Civil List, the hereditary Revenues of the Countries belonging to the Crown of Great Britain, whether within or without the Kingdom of England, are Part of the Civil List, such as the Duty of four and a half per Cent. on Sugars in the Leeward Islands, the Quit-Rents of America, &c.

On his Majesty's Accession by Act of Parliament, the Civil List was augmented to £. 800,000, per Annum. Now whatever Revenues belong to his Majesty in any of the Provinces, whether Ireland, the West-Indies, North-America, or any other of his British Dominions, are certainly his Majesty's, and cannot be disposed of by any other but his Royal Authority, or Law enacted by his Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled.

These Surplusses of the Irish Revenues belong to the Sinking Fund for the Payment of the Debts of Great Britain, Part of which were contracted for the Conquest and Defence of Ireland.

THOUGHTS

ON THE

AFFAIRS of IRELAND.

IRELAND is an Island inhabited by two Races, the one descended, from the original Possessors, who spoke a Dialect of the *Celtick* Language, which is continued to this Day under the Name of the *Irish* Tongue. The other Inhabitants are derived from People of all Nations, sent by *England*, from the Time of *Henry* the 2^d. till now.

It is natural for all People to love Independence and Freedom, and more particularly so for Islanders, who being separated from others, by the natural bound of the Sea, think themselves a little World of their own, and hate Foreigners.

As the Nature of the Land gives a Taste to the Wine * made from Vines transplanted into it, so *Ireland* has given a Flavour to the Posterity of all the People, who in the Succession of Time have been planted there. That Flavour hath been a most brisk and agreeable one, but a

* Gout de Teroier.

little heady, something like Champaign, which gives great Joy and high Spirits, but in its Consequences, is now and then attended with the Gout, the Gripes, and the Cholic.

See Appen-
dix, Page 18.

Those sent from *England* under *Strongbo* began to mofsee or froth, and fly even under the same King *Henry* the II^d. so that his Majesty was obliged to go over to pull out the Corks, and let it die to prevent breaking the Bottles.

In the Time of *Henry* the VIIth. the Champaign began to froth again, they joined *Perkin Warbeck*, and some Bottles were broke.

In the Time of *Henry* the VIIIth. *Gerald, Earl of Kildare* bottled up the Champaign, he made a fine Speech, as you may see in *Speed* and in the *Appendix*.

But that resolute Monarch drew the Corks and saved the breaking of the Bottles. The Wine was pretty quiet till the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, when the *Desmond Fitz-Thomas* and all the other *Fitz's* (that is to say the Children or Posterity of those sent over by the *English* in former Ages) joined with the *Mack's* and the *O's*, and the *Scots* of the North for DEAR INDEPENDENCY. They used the Cloak of Religion to draw in the Mob, and called out to the Pope, whose Sovereignty they asserted in Spirituals, in order to be independent in Temporals, of Queen *Elizabeth*, and of *England*.

Her Grace, who used now and then to swear and kick a little, broke a Number of Bottles, and drew the Corks of more. And they hardly frothed again till King *Charles* the Ist's Time. Then an *Independency* was highly attempted; they pretended even that the King had authorised them to throw off the Dependency upon the Parliament and Nation of *England*, and to
acknow-

acknowledge him to be their *absolute Lord*, and to help to make him so over the *English*.

The civil War in *England* being ended, *Crowwell*, an ill-bred rough Fellow, who kept no Measures of Decency; went over to *Ireland*, and kicked about, and broke above half the Bottles in the Kingdom. I suppose he had Jack-Boots on, for I don't find that the Glafs cut his Shins.

Such a Multitude was destroyed in the War, that it was needful to find others to supply their Places. The old *Irish* were expell'd out of their Estates by a War carried on by the Public, at the Expence of the Blood and Money of the People of *England*, who gave to a new Set of Men the Lands of the Conquered, hoping that their Gratitude and their Interest, would make them *submissive and faithful to England*.

But they, in a short Time, began to take the Taste and Qualities of Champaign, and King *William* was obliged to go over himself; he not only broke Bottles and uncorked the Wine, but he sent 30 or 40,000 Bottles to *France*, which tho' it seemed like sending Coals to *Newcastle*, yet was a wise Measure, since it prevented the flying of Corks, and breaking a Number of Bottles. So much for the History. Now to the present State.

It is 60 Years that *Ireland* hath been quiet, the Vines planted by King *William*, produc'd an excellent cordial Juice. This Wine was more like Port, than Champaign. But of late we hear that the new Wines have the *Gout de Teroier*, and puff, and fume, and fly.

The Pretences of Religion are now all over. The Papiſts, tho' numerous, are inconsiderable with respect to Power and Wealth, yet ought

not to be despised, since they are a Multitude whose Circumstances will make them naturally join the projecting Heads and desperate Hands of disappointed Ambition.

The Wise, the Rich, and the Parliament of *Ireland*, are at present Protestants; they owe their Estates and their very Being to the People of *England*, who pay'd the Money for conquering *Ireland* for them. I say, many of them owe their very Being to the Grants King *William* gave their Ancestors, and to the People of *England*, who pay to this Day Interest for the Money which conquered the Estates they now possess. If their Ancestors had not had those Estates granted to them in *Ireland*, they probably would not have married, because they could not have fed their Offspring, and if so, these rich gay Men must have been unborn.

I am far from imagining that the Protestants of *Ireland* see the Consequences of what is now beginning to be done, and therefore am persuaded that the present Ferment will all subside, upon their calmly considering, that it is against the Interest of every *Englishman* in *Ireland*, to attempt Independency. When I say *Englishmen*, I not only mean those born in *England*, but those who were born in *Ireland* from *English* Ancestors.

Dean *Swift* was the first, since the Revolution, that set up the Notion of the *Independency* of *Ireland*, and raised a great Deal of ill Blood by artfully persuading the Multitude, that *Ireland* had a different Interest from *England*, and ought to be Independent.

He took the Opportunity of *Wood's* Half-pennies, and blew up a general Flame, and tho' the Blaze was soon over, yet there still remains
Fire

Fire under the Ashes, that breaks out on every Occasion. Sometime it breaks out in the Shape of Trade, they attempt to rival the *English* and the *Scots* in every Produce and Manufacture. They even give Præmiums for improving many Things that interfere with this Country. In Hops, for Example, upon which *Kent*, *Surry*, *Worcestershire* and *Nottingham* greatly depend. They attempt also the Silk Manufacture, by which so many Thousands are maintained near *Spittlefields*, and in *Darby*, who must perish if they are underworked, and that they must be by People who hardly pay any Taxes, while Workers in *England* labour under the Weight of heavy ones, contracted for the Defence of those very People who rival them. But above all, the most indiscreet is, interfering with the Cloathing Cloathing Trade. Trade, and giving Rewards for making fine Woollen Goods, and thereby striving to take away from this Country their staple Commodity, which if accomplished, would not only lessen the Wealth of this Country, but would occasion the starving of many Hundreds of Thousands of People. These Things were first set on by *Swift* and his Patron *Bolingbroke*, with what Views let every *Irish* as well as *English* Protestant judge. Swift and Bolingbroke

Sometimes this latent Fire breaks out in Politics, a Difference about Employments, or about the Choice of a Member for a County or Borough, divides a House of Commons. The discontented Party immediately takes up the Claim of *Independency*, which tickles the Ears of the well-meaning Multitude. Thus all the Uproars in *Westminster* for seven Years together was supported by the charming Word *Independency*. If a *Surveyor-General* is accused by some, and defended

fended by others, say, that it is for the *Independency* of the Kingdom to turn him out, it would be much better received by the Multitude, than any Argument drawn from Evidence or Reason. If any one has a Mind to lessen the Prerogative of the Crown of *Great-Britain* in *Ireland*, the Multitude will cry out, all good Patriots must assist, for this is for *Independency*.

But to determine impartially this Matter, it would be right to state some Questions and give the Arguments of both Sides, which I hope I shall do, without Prejudice, and wish my Capacity was equal to my Impartiality. I have a strong Relation to *Ireland*, as well as *England*, and indeed I think the true Interest of both is one and the same thing.

1st. Is it just for the present *Irish* to desire, to be independant of *Britain*?

2dly. Would it be advantageous to *Ireland*, to be independent of *Britain*?

3dly. Could *Britain* be a great and flourishing Nation, if *Ireland* was an independent Nation?

4thly. Would the great Powers on the Continent, suffer *Ireland*, if undefended by *England*, to subsist as an Independent and Protestant Nation?

1st. Those whom aintain it is just, may say, that it is natural for all Men to be independent; that Lawgivers who live at a Distance cannot know the Situation of a Country, therefore cannot provide proper Laws for the Advantage of it. That it is highly just that every private Man, and every Nation should make the best Use they can of their Industry and natural Advantages. That the Laws made in *England*, deprives the *Irish* of the Means of using

using these Advantages, and therefore it is highly just for *Ireland*, by all legal and loyal Methods to desire an Independency. I say, all legal and loyal Methods, for attempting such Things by Methods of Force would be high Treason. By Independency also is meant, that *Ireland* should be independent of the Parliament of *England*, and all Courts of Judicature, as well the House of Lords. And of this Kind of Independency it is, that Sir *William Petty* speaks when he says,

“ It is absurd, if the Legislative Power be in
 “ *Ireland*, that the final Judgment of Causes
 “ between Man and Man should be in *Eng-*
 “ *land.*”

Therefore the legal and lawful Independency, and which is that meant in this Discourse, is one to be acquired by the Consent of his Majesty, and the Parliament of *Great Britain*.

Those who argue, that it is unjust for the *Irish* to desire Independency may say, that the natural Rights of Mankind, are justly abridged by Laws and Contracts for the common Utility, and those Contracts may with Justice be binding for ever. Thus Lands which originally were common to all human Kind, are now private Property. The present Possessors of *Ireland* went over under the Protection of *England*, and contracted to be always subject to the Crown of *England* *, and in all the Wars the Natives made against them, they have been supported by the Crown and the People of *England*. Therefore *Ireland*, before it can with Justice be Independent of *England*, ought to repay those many Millions which *England* hath expended for the

* *Vide Appendix, Hen. II.*

Conquest of *Ireland*. Therefore it would be as unjust for the present *Irish* to desire to be independent, without paying the People of *England*, as it would be for a Man to keep an Estate which he had purchased with borrowed Money, without repaying the Money which he borrowed for the Purchase.

2d. Those who say it would be advantageous for *Ireland* to be independent of *Britain*, have alledged, that the vast Sums that flow from a dependent Province to the Seat of Government, must make the dependent Province poor and miserable, particularly, if it is an Island that has not an Opportunity of sending their Produce to ballance this Demand, as is the Case of *Ireland*, whose great Officers, Nobility and Gentry, are often obliged to reside in *London*, the Seat of Government. And the *Irish* are deprived even of sending their Cattle to *England* to sell, to pay the Rents they owe to their rich Absentees. Farther, that the Laws of Course will be made with a Tendency towards that People whose Representatives are the Lawgivers. It is disadvantageous also for *Ireland* to be obliged to have their Causes finally judged in the House of Lords, in Admiralty Causes, or Causes Ecclesiastical. That it is inconvenient to be debarred from carrying Cloaths and other Woolen Goods to foreign Markets, and some other Regulations, imposed upon them by *English* Acts of Parliament, or by his Majesty's Prerogative.

Those who oppose the Independency of *Ireland* alledge, That it is advantageous for the whole Empire of *Great Britain*, of which *Ireland* and the Plantations are a Part, finally to have the Laws of the State made by the Parliament of *Great Britain*, rather than to have them made
by

by the subordinate and lesser Assemblies of the Parliament of *Ireland* or the Plantations. That it is very proper and advantageous to *Ireland*, to have an House of Lords and Commons, to lay before his Majesty proper Laws relating to what is Convenient for that particular Kingdom, and to become Acts of Parliament by his Majesty's Authority, to be amended by his Majesty, or to be rejected by the same Royal Authority. But the present Constitution is highly Advantageous to the whole, and the Authority of the King in the Parliament of *Great Britain* is much more Majestick and Awful, than the Assemblies either of the Parliament of *Ireland*, *New England*, *New York*, or any of the Provinces.

It is beneficial for *Ireland* to have their final Resort hither, that if Party-Prejudice or Bribery should prevail, they may be set right by a wise, eminent, and impartial Judicature, such as the House of Lords. The Parliament of *England* are certainly a more proper Representative of the People of *Ireland*, in all Matters that relate to the welfare of the whole Empire, and even in great Matters relating to *Ireland* itself than their own can be. The Commons of *Great Britain* are as much the virtual Representatives of the People of *Ireland* and *America*, as they are of the People of *England*. Every Man in *Ireland* who has Forty Shillings a Year in any County in *England*, can Vote for any Member to sit in Parliament, and an *English* Man worth 100,000 *l.* even living in *England*, cannot Vote if he hath not Lands, or is not a Citizen or Burgees of some Borough. And the House of Commons of *Great Britain* will be probably as

impartially and as wise as the House of Commons in *Ireland*.

First of all, because they are chosen by a much greater number of People. The Freeholders and Voters in *Britain* making above 100,000, and Sir *William Petty* says, "the Government of *Ireland* is compos'd of 21 Bishops, temporal Peers augmented at his Majesty's Pleasure, and about 3000 Freeholders, and the Members of about 100 Corporations, the University of *Dublin* reckon'd for one, represented in the House of Commons by about 270 Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes."

2dly, Because amongst the *British* Parliament are many of the great Men of the Nation, who have been and are conversant in all foreign Affairs. At the Heads of Fleets and Armies, of the Revenue, and of the Law.

3dly, Because they have Interest in the Benefit of the Whole, not partially bound to the Interest of a particular Place. Many of them possess vast Estates in *Ireland*, and the Plantations; many of them have lucrative Employments in *Ireland*, and all of them must have the Interest of *Ireland* at Heart, since it is the real Interest of *Great Britain*, being a part of the *British* Empire, and the lessening a Part lessens the Whole.

The depending upon the Judicature of *Britain* by an Appeal to the House of Lords, is still a Benefit to *Ireland*; since the *British* House of Lords cannot be affected with those Partialities that are natural to Kindred and other Connexions with People living in the same Island and Neighbourhood, and the *English* Law is so sensible of this Kind of Partiality, that it was

a Maxim for a Judge not to sit on the Bench in his own County. It is generally known, that many have been created Peers of *Ireland* whom the Crown did not think proper to create Peers of *Great Britain*; and I am inform'd that some Peers are of *English* Families who never had Estates nor resided in *Ireland*.

With respect to the *Irish* being debarr'd from Exporting Woollen Goods, and other Prohibitions and Impediments, they are only Regulations of Trade, which tho' they may seem Hardships founded upon a provincial Spirit of Partiality, are really far from being so. These Kinds of Regulations are for the universal Benefit of the *British* Empire, and of the general Trade of the Whole.

The Comparison between the body Politick and Natural, is very trite, yet I hope the repeating it will be excused, since it gives the clearest and shortest Idea of this Matter. The Legs carry, the Hands feed, and the Belly digests, for nourishing the Body. Each Province hath its Office and its Trade, the Woollen is peculiar to *England*, the Linen to *Ireland* and *Scotland*, Sugars to the *West India* Islands, and Tobacco to *Virginia*. *England* never objected to the Law that prohibits the *English* to plant Tobacco, it was an *English* Parliament that pass'd that Act in Favour of *Virginia*, the *English* might as well complain of that Prohibition, as the *Irish* of those laid upon them. To follow the raising of one Staple Commodity is certainly advantageous for Trade. It is demonstrable, that one Manufacture carried to its full Height will buy more for the Maintainance of the Manufacturers, than if they were to turn their Hands to raise every Thing they buy. For

Example, 100 Workers upon Watches, each employ'd in their separate Branches, some upon Wheels, some upon Springs, and some upon putting the Whole together and finishing, would probably make as many Watches, as would produce 4000 *l.* for their Profit. These 100 Men might consume in Meat, Drink and Cloathing 2000 *l.* But if they were to make their own Shoes, Cloth, Linen, and other Cloathing, to sow the Corn, and make the Bread, to follow all the Works of Husbandry towards raising their Food, out of a covetous Spirit to get the Profit of the Shopkeeper, Farmer, Baker, &c. the 100 Men after they had clothed and fed themselves, would not have Time to make as many Watches as the neat Profit would bring in 500 *l.* and would loose 1500 *l.* by misapplying there Time. The same Inconveniency will happen to every State that attempts to furnish themselves with every Thing they want, and buy nothing from their Neighbours. In which Case their Neighbours could take nothing from them, since they would have nothing with which to pay those who had already furnished themselves with all Things. This would put a total End to Commerce, which is Mankind's mutually supplying each others Wants.

From this may be prov'd, that the absolutely prohibiting the *Irish* from Manufacturing even a Lock of Wool, would be greatly to their Advantage. If they turn'd the same Hands to the Linen, they certainly would thereby improve the Linen Manufacture. The Person that spins Wool sometimes, and follows other Work at other Times, and thereby earns but Three Pence a Day, would, if she set herself to Flax, Spinning only become a Proficient, and thereby perhaps earn Ten Pence or Twelve Pence a Day

Day or more. The constant Attendance to one Thing makes Perfection, and the Dissipation to many loses Time, and makes all imperfect. Great Nations, as well as small Societies, compose but certain Numbers which they don't exceed, and therefore admit of being limited by Numeration. If *Ireland* contain'd, as Sir *William Petty* says, 1,110,000, and 200,000 should be employ'd in the Linnen Manufacture. If 30,000, which Sir *William* says the Woolworkers amounted to, were added to the Linnen Manufacture; this would happen, all the Linnen they made would be exported, for the present Manufacturers supply the Kingdom.

Suppose therefore, as is reckon'd by the *Dutch* one with another, that the Linnen Manufacturers earn Twenty Pound a Year each, that is to say, that the whole Linnen made by 30,000 People in *Holland* is Value about 600,000 *l.* It is reckon'd, that the whole of the People employ'd in Wool in *Ireland* do not earn one with another 12 *l.* a Year each, therefore the 30,000 would earn 160,000 *l.* Therefore with this Linnen they would buy from *England* a great deal more Woolen Goods than they could make, and would have a great Ballance besides.

Therefore the hindering *Ireland* or the Plantations from mannfacturing Wool would be like a kind Father's hindering his Child from eating green Fruit, and giving him a wholesome Dinner instead of it, and such a Kind of Father is the legislative Power of *Great Britain*. Whilst provincial Parliaments or Assemblies would, like tender Mothers, rather than hear their Children cry, give them Fruit, or even strong Liquors to the hazard of their Lives, and the Ruin of their Constitutions.

As

As for the Instance of Partiality in the Act for prohibiting the importing Cattle from *Ireland*, it is far from being an Injury. It hath been a high Advantage to that Kingdom, and like the Act prohibiting the drawing by the Horses Tails. And it was necessary to hinder the *Irish* from sending over their lean Cattle that they might be forc'd to fat them and gain thereby. And the prohibiting the Manufacturing of Wool now, will be as beneficial to them a few Years hence as the prohibiting of bringing over Cattle, is to the present *Irish*, tho' when past, as much dislik'd as this is now.

All the other Restraints may be singly consider'd, and most of them upon full Examination would appear beneficial to *Ireland*, and shews the superior Wisdom of an Impartial *British* Parliament.

The strongest Reason, From these Reasons it would appear disadvantageous to *Ireland* to be Independent of the *British* Parliament, and a stronger than all these may be offer'd, that the Mobs in the City of *Dublin* are dangerous to the Freedom of Parliament, since not only Bishops and Peers have been insulted, but tumultuous Multitudes have testify'd their Approbation or Disapprobation of Matters under parliamentary Considerations, and clamorous Crowds have surrounded the House during the Debates. Is it not fitting? therefore, there should be a superior Legislature to prevent Hurt arising from any Act which two Houses of a provincial Parliament, might be forc'd to pass by a tumultuous Multitude.

To the 3d Question.

Those who are opinion that *Britain* might continue a flourishing Nation, tho' *Ireland* was inde-

independent, may say that *Ireland* adds nothing now to the Strength of *Britain*; she pays no Taxes towards the Support of the Realm, nor to the Interest of the public Funds, and therefore *Britain* would lose nothing by her Independency, but would rather obtain an Advantage by a free Trade, with her who would then be in a more flourishing Condition.

Those who maintain the Contrary may say, that *Ireland* is prov'd by History to have been very inconvenient to *England*; when she was a free and independent Country she supported the *Scots* and *Welch* against the *Saxons* and against our first Kings of the *Norman* Line, and the Historians say, that unsufferable Wrongs were done by their Piracies upon the *English* Nation, buying and selling their Captives and using *Turkish* Tyranny on their Bodies. If the *Irish* when they were a naked People without Armour, and without Arts, having nothing but their natural Courage and Strength of Body (for which they were always famous) to depend upon, could put *England* under such Difficulties, how much more, is now to be apprehended from them when they are instructed in all the same Arts, and if *England* excel in some, they also exceed in others. One of their Gentlemen, upon a late Occasion, having defended their Privileges with an Eloquence that would have been applauded in *Greece* or *Rome*, and whatever he might fall short of their two greatest Orators in Language, he over made up in other Qualities, not yielding like *Tully* to fear, nor like *Demosthenes* to Corruption. With Respect to military Virtue, they have distinguished themselves not only in the Service of *Britain*, but *Quæ Regio in Terris Nostrori non plena Laboris*. How unfortu-

state is it that the brave Natives of *Ireland* have bled and conquered for the Enemies of *Britain*. Besides, this if *Ireland* was an independent Nation it would intirely ruin the Trade of *England*, their Ports open to the Western Ocean, have by that natural Conveniency, a Superiority over any in the Channel. If they were permitted they could under-trade *England* to the *West-Indies*; and our Companies, if they were independent, could not prevent them trading to *Cbina*, and the *East-India* Company would be thereby ruined. They would under-sell us in Woollen Goods, in Hats, in Silks, in Leather, in Shoes, and in many other Manufactures, whereby Millions of Clothiers, Weavers, Spinners, Silk Weavers, and Winders, Tanners, Shoemakers, and other *Englisch* Manufacturers, would be set a starving, so that the Independency of *Ireland* must be the undoing of *England*, and end in the Destruction of *Ireland* also. For tho' at first they would under-trade *England*, their Labour and Provision being cheaper, because they are not so loaded with Taxes and Excises, yet to defend their Independency they must be at such Expences as must occasion future Taxes and Excises, and they be crushed under the Weight thereof. The Proportion of *Ireland* with respect to Numbers and Wealth, is reckoned but one Sixth to *England*, therefore all their Efforts in the End would be but like the Frog in *Esop*, that to vie with the Ox swelled himself till he burst.

To the 4th Question.

Would the great Powers on the Continent suffer *Ireland*, if undefended by *England*, to subsist as an Independent and Protestant Nation?

There

There can be no Reason given that they should. The *French* would naturally wish to be Masters of so rich an Island as *Ireland*, and doubtless Religion would give them many Friends there. In ancient Times before they were subject to *England*, the *Danes* and *Norwegians* frequently over-run them, and it's natural that they should have many things to fear from the Northern Powers, were they not protected by the Treaties which *England* hath subsisting with all the Powers of *Europe*, as well as by the Fleets and Armies of *Great Britain* and *Hanover*. And it is to be remarked that they have all the Happiness of this Protection gratis. It is *England* that pays the Taxes which supports the Fleets, and all foreign Subsidies, and all the *English* Armies that act upon the Continent. It is *England* that pays the Negotiations and Ministers in foreign Courts, as well as the great Officers of the Crown, and his Majesty's Ministers, who watch over the Safety of *Ireland* as well as *Great Britain*.

O fortunatos nimium sua si bona norint!

VIRG.

A P P E N D I X.

Quotations from ancient History, containing the Speeches of the Lord Chancellor, Cardinal *Woolsey*, and *Gerald* Earl of *Kildare*, in the original old *English*.

Speed.

K I N G *Henry* II. to prevent the too great Forwardness of *Strongbo* and the Conquerors of *Ireland*, forbids by his Proclamations any Vessels to carry any Thing out of his Dominions into *Ireland*, and commands all *English* to return before *Easter*, and leave off their Attempts, or their Estates in *England* should be seized for the King. Afterwards *Henry* Lord *Fitz Morris* appeased his Displeasure upon these Terms, that the *Irish* should hold of the King and his Heirs, and so to be under his Subjection as Subjects ought to be.

Gerald
Cambrid.

The King landing in *Ireland* committed to Prison, *Robert Fitz Stephens*, one of the Conquerors, and reduces them to Submission, but a grave Historian remarks, that it was the inseparable evil Fate of that Kingdom, which would never suffer it to enjoy the blessed Benefit of exact Civility.

Perkin

Perkin sails into *Ireland* where, notwithstanding their late Calamities, he so strongly enchanted that rude People, with the Charms of false Hopes and Mists of Seemings as he was sure of Partakers in great Plenty.

But in *Ireland* they were not so settled or reduced, but that for the better and fuller purging thereof, *Henry Deny* (a Monk of *Langton-Abbey*) was sent Lord Chancellor thither, with Orders and Directions, and Sir *Edward Poynings*, Knight, with Soldiers, whose greatest Diligence and Cares, were not wanting to punish such as heretofore had aided *Perkins*, or might hereafter.

The Earl of *Kildare*, Lord-Deputy, falling into Suspicion with *Poynings*, was by him apprehended and sent Prisoner into *England*, where the King did not only graciously hear and admit his Defences, but also returned him with Honour and Continuation of Authority.

The Earl of *Kildare*, who now in *England* must answer his Demeanor before the Lords of the Council. And to their Table was he brought, where the Cardinal Lord Chancellor made his Faults nothing less. And thus addressed himself against the Earl of *Kildare*.

‘I wot well my Lord, that I am not the meet-
est at this Board to charge you with these
Treasons, because it pleased some of your Pew-
fellows to report that I am a professed Enemy
to all Nobility, and namely to the *Geraldines*,
but seeing every shrewd Boy can say as much

' when he is controuled, and these Points so
 ' weighty, that they should not be dissembled
 ' of us, and so apparent, that they cannot be de-
 ' nied of you. I I must have leave notwith-
 ' standing your stale Slander, to be the Mouth
 ' of these Honourable Lords at this present, and
 ' to trump your Treasons in you Way, howso-
 ' ever you take me. First, you remember how
 ' the lewd Earl of *Desmond*, your Kinsman, who
 ' passeth not whom he serveth, might he change
 ' his Master, sent his Confederates with Let-
 ' ters of Credence, unto *Francis*, the *French*
 ' King, and having but cold Comfort there,
 ' went to *Charles* the Emperor, profering the
 ' Help of *Mounster*, and *Conought*, towards the
 ' Conquest of *Ireland*, if either of them would
 ' help to win it from our own King; how many
 ' Letters, what Precepts, what Messages. what
 ' Threats have been sent you to apprehend him,
 ' and yet not done? Why so? Forsooth, I
 ' could not catch him. Nay, nay, Earl, for-
 ' sooth, you would not watch him; if he be
 ' justly suspected, why are you partial in so great
 ' a Charge? If not, why are you fearful to
 ' have him tried? Yea, for it will be sworn, and
 ' deposed before your Face that for Fear of
 ' meeting him, you have winked wilfully,
 ' shunned his Sight, altered your Course, warn-
 ' ed your Friends, stopped both Ears and
 ' Eyes against his Detectors, and whensoever
 ' you took upon you to hunt him out, then
 ' was he sure, beforehand, to be out of your
 ' Walk; surely this juggling and false Play, lit-
 ' tle became an honest Man, called to such Ho-
 ' nour, or a Nobleman put into so great Trust:
 ' Had you lost but a Cow or a Horse of your
 ' own,

' own, two hundred of your Retainers wou'd
 ' have come at your Whistle to rescue the prey
 ' from the uttermost Edge of *Ulster*. All the
 ' *Irish* in *Ireland* must have given you the
 ' Way, but in pursuing so needful a Matter as
 ' this was, merciful God, how nice, how dan-
 ' gerous, how wayward have you been? One
 ' while he is from Home, and another while he
 ' keepeth Home; sometimes fled, sometimes in
 ' in the Borders where you dare not venture.
 ' Ywisse, my Lord, there be shrewd Bugges in
 ' the Borders for the Earl of *Kildare* to fear.
 ' The Earl, nay, the King of *Kildare*; for when
 ' you are disposed, you reign more like than
 ' rule the Land. Where you are pleased the
 ' *Irish* Foe standeth for a just Subject; Hearts
 ' and Hands, Lives and Lands, they are all at
 ' your Courtesy, who falleth not thereon cannot
 ' rest within your Smell, and your smell so
 ' rank that you treat them out at Pleasure."

Whilst the Cardinal was speaking, the Earl
 chafed and changed Colour, and at last brake
 out and interrupted him thus.

' My Lord Chancellor I beseech you Pardon
 ' me, I am short witted, and you I perceive
 ' intend a long Tale; if you proceed in this Or-
 ' der half my Purgation will be lost for lack of
 ' Carriage. I have no school Tricks nor Art
 ' of Memory, except you hear me while I re-
 ' member your Words, your second Process
 ' will hammer out the former.' The Lords As-
 ' sociate, who for the most Part lov'd *Kildare*,
 and knew the Cardinal's manner of Taunts,
 so ready being inured therewith many Years to-
 gether, humbly besought his Grace to charge
 him

*Kildare in-
 terrupting the
 Cardinal's
 Tale.*

*The Lords
 tender Kil-
 dare.*

him directly with Particulars, and to dwell on some one Matter until it were examined thoroughly.

*He answereth
the Cardinal's
Objection.*

‘ That granted, it is good Reason, quoth the
‘ Earl, that your Grace bear the Mouth of this
‘ Board. But my Lord, those Mouths that put
‘ those Things into your Mouth are very wide
‘ Mouths, such indeed as have gaped long for
‘ my Wreck. And now at length for want of
‘ better Stuff have feign’d to fill their Mouths
‘ with Smoak. What my Cousin *Desmond* hath
‘ compassed, as I know not, so I bethrew his
‘ naked Heart for holding out so long ; if he can
‘ be taken by mine Agents that presently wait
‘ for him, then have my Adversaries bewray’d
‘ their Malice, and this Heap of heinous Words
‘ shall resemble a Scarecrow or a Man of Straw,
‘ that seemeth at a Blush to carry some propor-
‘ tion, but when it is felt and appeased, disco-
‘ vereth a Vanity, serving only to fear Crows,
‘ and I verily trust your Honours shall see the
‘ Proof by the Thing itself within these few
‘ Days ; but go to, suppose he never be had ?
‘ What is *Kildare* to blame for it, more than
‘ my good Brother of *Offorie*, who notwithstand-
‘ ing his high Promises, having also the King’s
‘ Power, is yet content to bring him in at lei-
‘ sure ? Cannot this Earl of *Desmond* shift but I
‘ must be of Council ? Cannot he hide him ex-
‘ cept I wink ? If he be close, am I his Mate ?
‘ If he be friended, am I a Traitor ? This is a
‘ doubtry Kind of Accusation which they urge
‘ against me, wherein they are stabbed and mi-
‘ red at my first Denial ; you would not see
‘ him, say they, who made them so familiar
‘ with

' with mine Eyesight? Or when was the Earl
 ' within my View? Or who stood by when I
 ' let him slip? Or where are the Tokens of my
 ' wilful Hoodwink? But you sent him Word to
 ' beware of you, who was the Messenger?
 ' Where are the Letters? Convince my Nega-
 ' tives; see how loose this idle Gear hangeth to-
 ' gether, *Desmond* is not taken. Well you are
 ' in Fault, why? Because you are; who proveth
 ' it? No body, what Conjectures? So it seem-
 ' eth, to whom? To your Enemies; who told
 ' it them? They will swear it; what other
 ' Ground, none; will they swear it, my Lord?
 ' Why then of like they know it, either they
 ' have mine Hand to shew or can bring forth the
 ' Messenger, or were present at a Conference,
 ' or privy to *Desmond*, or some body bewraeyd
 ' it to them, or they themselves were my Car-
 ' riers or Vice-gerents therein, which of these
 ' Parts will they chuse, for I know them too well
 ' to reckon my self convict by their bare Words
 ' or headless Sayings, or frantick Oaths, were,
 ' but mere Mockery; my Letters were soon read;
 ' were any such Writing extant, my Servants
 ' and Friends are ready to be sifted; of my Cou-
 ' sin of *Desmond* they may lie loudly, since no
 ' Man here can well contrary them; touching
 ' my self, I never noted in them much Wit, or
 ' so fast Faith that I wou'd have gaged on their
 ' Silence the Life of a good Hound, much
 ' less mine own. I doubt not, may it please
 ' your Honour to oppose them, how they came
 ' to the Knowledge of these Matters which they
 ' are so ready to depose, but you shall find their
 ' Tongues chained to another Man's Trencher,
 ' and as it were, Knights of the Post suborned
 ' to

' to say, swear and stare, the uttermost they
 ' can, as those that pass not what they say, nor
 ' with what Face they say it, so they say no
 ' Truth. But on the other side it grieveth me,
 ' that your good Grace, whom I take to be
 ' wise and sharp, and who of your blessed Dis-
 ' position wisheth me well, shou'd be so far
 ' gone in crediting these corrupt Informers that
 ' abuse the Ignorance of your State and Coun-
 ' try to my Peril ; little know you my Lord,
 ' how necessary it is, not only for the Governor,
 ' but also for every Nobleman in *Ireland* to
 ' hamper the uncivil Neighbours at discretion,
 ' wherein if they waited for Process of Law,
 ' and had not those Lives and Lands you speak
 ' of within their reach, they might hap to lose
 ' their own Lives and Lands without Law. You
 ' hear of a Case as it were in a Dream, and feel
 ' not the Smart that vexeth us. In *England*
 ' there is not a mean Subject that dare extend
 ' his Hand to *Fillip* a Peer of the Realm ; in
 ' *Ireland*, except the Lord have Cunning to his
 ' Strength, and Strength to save his Crown, and
 ' sufficient Authority to take Thieves and Var-
 ' lets when they stir, he shall find them swarm
 ' so fast, that it will be too late to call for Jus-
 ' tice. If you will have our Service take effect,
 ' you must not tie us always to those judicial
 ' Proceedings wherewith your Realm (thanked
 ' be God) is innured. Touching my Kingdom
 ' I know not what your Lordship should mean
 ' thereby, if your Grace imagine that a King-
 ' dom consisteth in serving God, in obeying
 ' the Prince, in governing with Love the Com-
 ' monwealth, in supporting Subjects, in sup-
 ' pressing Rebels, in executing Justice, in brid-
 ' ling

In what Case
 stand the No-
 blemen of
 Ireland with
 Rebels.

ling blind Affections, I would be willing
 to be invested with so virtuous and royal
 a Name; but if therefore you term me a
 King, in that you are persuaded that I repine
 at the Government of my Sovereign, or wink
 at Malefactors, or oppress civil Livers, I utter-
 ly disclaim that odious Term, marvelling
 greatly that one of your Grace's profound
 Wisdom would seem to appropriate so sacred a
 Name to so wicked a Thing. But howsoever
 it be, my Lord, I would you and I had chang-
 ed Kingdoms, but for one Month, I would
 trust together up more Crumbs in that Space,
 than twice the Revenues of my poor Earldom;
 but you are well and warm, and so hold you,
 and upbraid not me with such an odious Term.
 I slumber in a hard Cabbin, when you sleep
 in a soft Bed of Down. I serve under the
 King's Cope of Heaven, when you are served
 under a Canopy. I drink Water out of my
 Skull when you drink Wine out of Golden
 Cups. My Courser is trained to the Field,
 when your Gennet is taught to amble. When
 you are graced and belorded, and crouched
 and kneeled unto, then find I small Grace
 with our *Irish* Borderers, except I cut them off
 by the Knees.

At these Girds the Lord Chancellor much fret-
 ted, and finding *Kildare* to be no Babe, deferred
 the Hearing of his Cause, till more Proofs were
 produced from *Ireland*. Then in a great Fume
 he arose from the Council Board, and commit-
 ted the Earl into Custody, against the Minds of
 most at the Table, who knew well that this, his
 Accusation was more of Hatred born by the
 Cardinal, than any occasion given by the late

*Kildare com-
 mitted to Pri-
 son.*

Kildare ac-
cused for sub-
orning of
Traitors.

accused Deputy. Whereupon *Thomas*, Duke of *Norfolk*, stepped to the King, and craved that *Kildare* might be his Prisoner, offering to be bound in Goods and Body, for his forth-coming, whom he obtained, tho' not with any great Lik-
ing to the Lord Chancellor, who daily enter-
tained new Complaints against him, till at last he
pressed him sore with Letters sent to *Oneile* and
Oconer, to encourage their Rebellion against
Ossorie, the Lord Deputy, which Letters were
brought them, by his own Daughter and their
Sisters, the Lady *Alice Fitz-Gerald*, Wife to the
Baron of *Slane*.

Kildare com-
mitted to the
Tower.

This Presumption being vehement, the King
suspicious, the Cardinal eager, and his Friends
faint, *Kildare* was sent to the Tower, where he
committed himself to God, and expected daily
his Death, but with such courageous Resolu-
tion, as he being in Play with the Lieutenant at
Slide-Groat, when the Mandate was brought for
his Execution, on the next Morning; and see-
ing the Lieutenant start into a sudden Sadness, By
Saint *Bride*, Lieutenant, quoth the Earl, there is
some mad Game in that Scroll, but fall how it
will, this Throw is for a Huddle; and when the
worst was told him, now I pray thee, quoth he,
do no more but learn assuredly from the King's
own Mouth, whether his Highness be willing
thereto or no. The Lieutenant loving his Pri-
soner well, repaired to the King, and shewed him
the Cardinal's Warrant, who then controuled
the Sauciness of the Priest, (for those were his
Terms) and gave the Lieutenant his Signet for
a Countermand, whereat the Cardinal stormed,
but *Kildare* delivered from his imminent Death,
and

Kildare's suc-
cessful Courage.
Holinshead
Hist. of Ire-
land.

and not long after from his Imprisonment also,
 was sent into *Ireland*, where at his Entrance into
Dublin, he was met with a solemn Procession, Kildare re-
 ceived into
 Dublin, with
 Procession,
 and so brought into the City, so well beloved
 was this Earl abroad and at home.

F I N I S.



and not long after from his Imprisonment also
was sent into Ireland, where at his Entrance into
Dublin, he was met with 6 DE 58
and so brought into the City, so well beloved
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Kildare was
executed at
Dublin, 1591
Proclamation

1 1 1 1 2

